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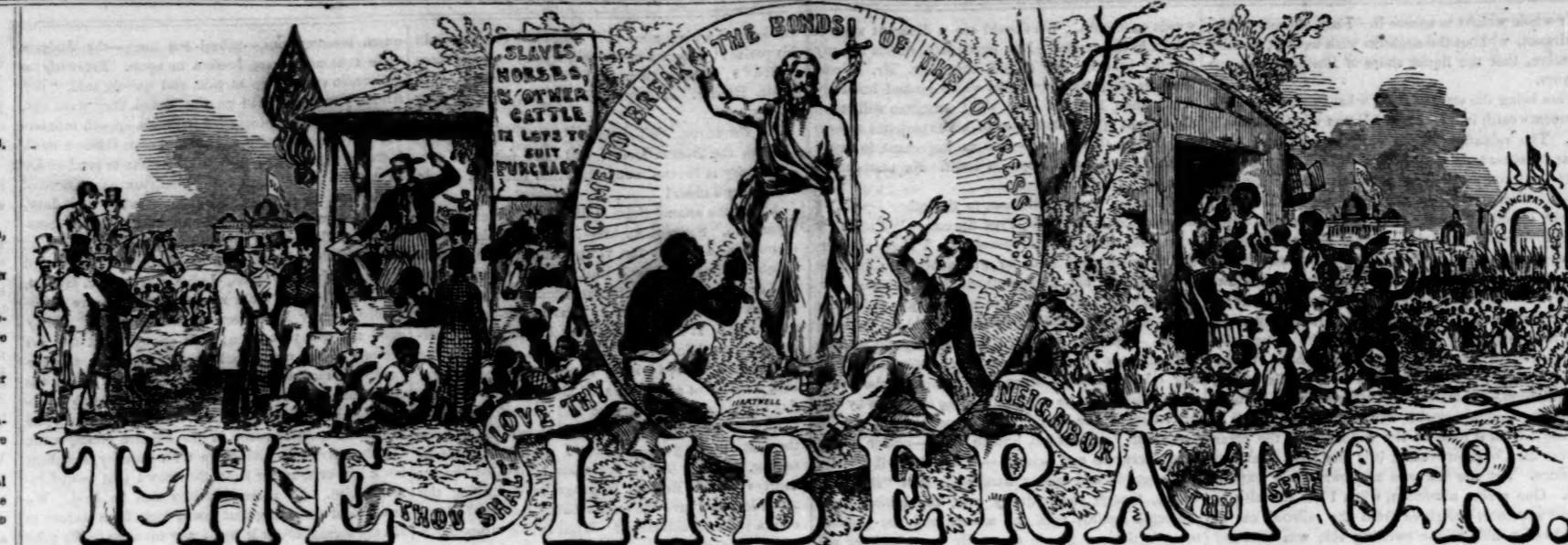
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, viz.—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 13.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1580.

Refuge of Oppression.

BURNING PAPERS—HANGING PREACHERS

A Republican member of the State Legislature, from Allen county, in Kansas, had a relative living in Texas, who wrote Mr. B. to send him the news from Kansas, in reply to which he sent him the New York Tribune and Lawrence Republican. The following letter shows the result. Fannin county is where they hung Rev. Mr. Dewey, for belonging to the M. E. Church, without the word *South* to it:

HONEY GROVE, FANNIN CO., TEXAS,

January 18th, 1861.

N. B. Blanton, Esq., Humboldt, Kansas:

DEAR SIR.—E. McCrary received your hellish and inflammatory documents. It would be well for you, and all those who believe in the abolition of slavery in the United States, to first commence the work at home. Clean out the Augean stables, and then you will be adapt in the profession. How many, ah! how many white males and females are not in bondage to the aristocrats of your section of the country—their equals by nature, and often by acquirements their superiors! There never has been, and never will be, a government destitute of slaves in some shape or form. If you want to end slavery, as you have done and are now doing, your brothers and sisters of the Saxon race, and can find those who will serve you in the name and stead of negro slaves at the South, it is your privilege to do so; but we ask and beseech you to allow us to enjoy the same right in peace. We are determined that you and your abolition colleagues shall attend to your own affairs, and allow us to do the same, be the consequences what they may. The devil and his tempter form a component part of your nation, and all those who are stirring up insurrection and disturbance in this country. You have the impudence of Satan himself, combined with all his meanness, to send such periodicals as the New York Tribune and the Lawrence Republican, to a Southern clime. They were consigned to the flames, and it would afford me infinite pleasure and gratification to consign you and all your kindred spirits to the same; but, nevertheless, it will be your doom to be cast into the fiery pit, where the flames are inextinguishable, unless a radical change comes over you. You believe you are serving your God, by serving abolition; but if you are, your God certainly inhabits the lower regions, in common parlance called Hell!

Reflect, young man, and you will see what injustice you are doing the South. We only ask to be let alone in the enjoyment of our rights; and you shall let us alone, if you will be forced to do it at the cannon's mouth or at the bayonet's point. This is the sentiment of the South, and you may rely upon it, that no one will be allowed to surround any constitutional right; neither will we allow you, in your religious fanaticism, to trample under your unshaken faith the rights guaranteed to us by the Constitution, and common sense and common justice.

JOEL H. BUTTON, P. M.

THE SOUTH ON THE PUBLICATIONS OF HARPER & BROTHERS.

It is extremely gratifying to know that the publications issued from this Black Republican, Abolition establishment are fast losing their circulation in the South. Packages after packages are being returned, and we trust that Southern people will cease entirely to read them. The last number of their Weekly is as violent an Abolition production as ever came from the office of Garrison's *Liberator*. The house of Harper has grown rich upon Southern patronage and support, and the return has been, that out of their colossal fortunes thousands have been subduced and freely given for the maintenance of the inflammatory principles, the carrying out of which has caused the existing state of affairs. The Harpers have even been the leaders of the most violent of their institutions. Their piracies of the works of foreign authors, and the cheap publication of them in New York, and the immense orders from the Southern States, have made them one of the richest establishments in the country. We must not give "aid and comfort" to our enemies in any conceivable shape or form.—*Columbus (Ga.) Times*.

THE OLD DOMINION LOSING POWER.

Extract from the Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

From a retrospect of the long struggle between the contending forces of Liberty and Slavery, in this nation, and from the developments of the present hour, the question arises in every thoughtful mind, What is to be predicted of our country's future? Amid the strife of hostile political parties; the rending asunder of ecclesiastical bodies; the contest of various factions vying with one another to suppress the rising rebellion of anti-slavery thought and speech; and the upheaving of the foundations of institutions which seemed as immutable as the everlasting hills; the Abolitionists have kept their eyes constantly fixed upon one result, which they know to be the final victory of the cause of freedom. Yet this is exactly what Virginia is doing, and few men think it anything out of the common routine of events. Nearly half the South is in open rebellion, and half of the other half is desirous of going over to the rebel camp; and Virginia is striving to patch up a peace, under the leadership of Mr. John Tyler, whose chief claim to respect is, that he is accidentally an ex-President. Mr. Tyler, the telegraph gravely tells us, demanded, in his late speech, that Virginia should demand "full and ample compensation" as the only condition of remaining in the Union. This means that Virginia would threaten to leave the Union, and decline her intention of joining the confederacy, unless there shall be a radical change made in the Constitution of the United States, and that change in the interest of slavery. If we shall so order matters as to secure to the slaveholders some forty or fifty years more of power, Virginia will consent to remain in the Union, and persuade the seceding States to come back—if she can; and she would take the other border States with her, if she should refuse her terms, and she should elect to rebel. This may be possible, but to most men it will wear the appearance of giving the highest kind of encouragement to communities that have committed, and are daily committing, the crime of treason.

The geographical position of Virginia renders her conduct all the more odious. She is so situated that her secession would amount to an attack on England, if that country should send an army to enforce the imperial law on the northern country, we should deem her loyalty to be worthy of the country that was exhibiting it,—a "very" Irish sort of loyalty indeed.

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SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.,
BEFORE THE
Metropolitans Police Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature,
In the Hall of the House of Representatives,
Friday, March 29, 1861.

Photographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. TERRITON.

MR. CHAIRMAN.—Allow me as one of the petitioners, and as a citizen of the city to which reference is made in this petition, to state the grounds upon which I signed it. In the first place, I have no blame to express, no charge to bring, against the individual members of the Police force—none whatever. If I had any to make, I should not make it here. Probably they are as good as the members of any other Police force on the seaboard. I have never found a policeman who has not exhibited a desire to do his duty. It is said that the Duke of Newcastle, during his late visit, remarked of Mr. Han, that he was the best Police officer he had ever known. I think the compliment was deserved. It is not the character of the Police to which the petitioners object; it is the direction given to them. It is to change a man on the list; it is to ensure the proper use of the force itself.

Again, gentlemen, for one, I do not appear here to censure anybody. I suppose it is not the function of the Legislature, certainly not of its Committees, to award censure to the various executive authorities of the city and State. No doubt, it is true, as my friend [GEORGE W. SMALLEY, Esq.] has just declared to us, that for weeks before that Anti-Slavery meeting in January, a meeting which had been held here for thirty years, every January,—which every man allows was met for a legal purpose,—stood behind the shield of the law—it is no doubt true, that for weeks before that meeting, the press and the streets were full of threats that it should never be held; that it met; that it was disturbed by a mob, and finally turned into the streets, in broad daylight, in the presence of the police force, by order of the Mayor; that not a gun was fired, not a man arrested, not a finger lifted to protect the legal rights of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. After full, public notice given by the mob, a legal, peaceable meeting was broken up, in the city of Boston, by that mob; the State, county and city authorities looking on; no visible effort was made to prevent it; not a man was then or has since been arrested or arraigned for that day's crime. Except your Honorable Body, no department of Government has taken the slightest notice of this bold, high-handed violation of law, this gross outrage on the most sacred rights. That statement must be allowed on all hands. One may make one excuse, and one another; but that statement stands unchallenged. There were three persons charged that week with the execution of the laws of the Commonwealth, and the preservation of its peace: one was John A. Andrew, Governor of the Commonwealth; another, John M. Clark, Sheriff of Suffolk county; and the third was Joseph M. Wightman, Mayor of the city. Upon one or all of them rest the crime and the disgrace of that day. It is not for us to divide it here. On other and fitting occasions, I, at least, as a citizen, shall express my opinion. We come here, gentlemen, not to censure the past, but to ask security for the future; to make use of these and other facts to induce you to remodel the machinery by which our rights are protected, and to endeavor to secure, within the city of Boston, the full exercise of their rights to minorities. That, at least, is my purpose here to-day.

Gentlemen, there is a very broad basis for this claim. It is not merely—on my part, at least—on the ground of free speech, to which my friend, Mr. Smalley, has alluded. I claim it, as a citizen of Boston, for a variety of reasons. Every body knows, as my friend the City Attorney [J. P. HEALY, Esq.] remarked, that great cities are nests of great vices, and also, that it has been the experience of Republics that great cities are an exception to the common rule of self-governed communities. Neither New York, nor New Orleans, nor Baltimore—none of the great cities—have found the ballot-box of its individual voters a sufficient protection, through a Police organization. Baltimore and New York have deserted it. Great cities cannot be protected on the theory of Republican institutions. We may like it or not—seventy years have tried the experiment, and, so far, it is a failure; and if there is no resource outside of the city limits, then a self-governed great city, so far as my experience goes, the most uncomfortable which any man who loves free speech can live in. It is no surprise, therefore, that we ask you no longer to let the Police force represent the voters of Boston. We are commanding, gentlemen, before this Legislature, an agitation to protect the streets and the free speech of Boston. Whether we shall succeed this year, or in ten years, I do not know; but I always begin by acknowledging the whole claim, without any concealment. I mean to try, if God gives me life, to take the Police force of Boston out of the control of its voters. That is the exact essence of the claim I make. Why do I do it? I wish to be as brief as possible, to condense what I have to say into the smallest compass; let me select, therefore, two points. I shall take Temperance and Free Speech to illustrate the grounds of my claim.

In the first place, the Temperance cause. The Commonwealth has a law—the Maine Liquor Law, as it is called; you know its terms—I need not enlarge upon them. It is measurably enforced in other sections of the Commonwealth; it is not enforced at all in Boston. Why? For these reasons: Nine-tenths of the criminal laws of the Commonwealth depend for their enforcement, within the city of Boston, on the Police of the city. It is vain that judges sit to try and punish criminals, if none are brought before them. An efficient and honest Police is perhaps more necessary for the enforcement of law than even an honest judiciary.

Now what controls our city Police? The Mayor and Aldermen who appoint and direct them. Who elect these Mayor and Aldermen? On an average, some twelve thousand voters, more or less. There are in this city two thousand places for the open sale of liquor; a thousand places where it is sold not so openly; five hundred is a small estimate of the houses of prostitution and gambling—measurably concerned, of course, in the same traffic;—thirty-five hundred places where the Maine Liquor Law is constantly violated, with the knowledge of the Police—for I take my estimate from the Police Reports. Now, gentlemen, you would not consider that I was making a very large estimate, certainly, not one unduly large, if I said that each one of these places, on an average, could control a voter. Such liquor sellers are generally voters. If not, every one has a father, brother, servant, bar-keeper, landlord, men of whom buy his supplies, frequenters of his bar. Certainly, I do not make too large an estimate when I say that, on an average, each one of these places controls one voter—thirty-five hundred voters in the city of Boston out of twelve thousand. Gentlemen, I make no special charge against the Mayor and Aldermen—they are as good as the rest of us. They want voters; it is the American failing—most men want voters. I only ask of any man an honest effort; I only ask for evidence that the first step is taken in that direction—that there is a willingness, a disposition to do it. A great deal could be prevented. Mr. Chairman, the mob that broke up that Tremont Temple meeting reeled into it from the gorgeous grog-shops that surround the Temple. Where do they get their respectability? They got it from the fact that your Governors, your Judges, your Senators, your law-makers meet week after week, and month after month, in these very places, to violate the law which they have placed upon the statute-book. No wonder they are ashamed to execute the laws which they break before the very sun and noon-day of Massachusetts.

Mr. Chairman, I contend that you should take that Police force out of the control of the city, whose government is chosen by 3500 illegal houses, and put it into the charge of the Commonwealth, which means that its statutes shall have at least an honest effort to

their whole weight to secure it. I say, therefore, Mr. Chairman, without the slightest wish to be personally offensive, that the liquor shops of Boston choose our Mayors.

That being the state of facts, what interest has the Commonwealth in it? I will tell you what interest it has. The valuation of the city, as my friend [Mr. HEALY] observed, is one-third the property of the State. Of course, that is not all owned by the men who dwell and sleep on the peninsula; it is owned largely outside. These men have as much, often more, interest than the city voters in all that affects the value of property. Mob and Intemperance affect property in various ways, as I should presently show. Such outsiders should have some means, therefore, to prevent both. We have from fifteen to twenty thousand men, according to the reports, who come daily into the city by the trains to do business here. Whenever any great public gathering is held, for discussion, for exhibition,—whenever Kossuth is received in these Halls—the Commonwealth crowds into the streets of this city; from it radiates the influence of the press all over the Commonwealth; it is the great centre of influence. Let me tell you an hour of my experience. One spring afternoon, when I left the city to deliver a lecture, I alighted from the railroad car at the foot of a hill, whose swelling side was crowned with the most magnificent of country dwellings. Architecture and Horticulture had exhausted their art. It was so unlike any thing about it, I was led to ask how it came there. The man who was driving me said it was built by a village boy, who wanted to show how much money he had made in Boston in fifteen years. "He left here without a cent," said the young man—"went to Boston—became a distiller—returned with two hundred thousand dollars—that is his residence." Do you suppose there was a Yankee boy within sight of that hill-side who was not tempted to repeat that Boston experience, of rapid and easy wealth? I rode on fourteen miles, and was set down opposite one of those village homes which Dr. Holmes describes in his recent novel—a square house, of the Revolutionary period,—climbing up to it, and the same driver said, "In that front room lies dying the grandson of the man who built that house. Grandfather and father died drunkards—lay about the streets of the village drunk. That boy and I started together in life. He went with me to Lowell. We went through the mills and a mechanic trade. Never did one drop of intoxicating liquor pass his lips. Social frolics, instead of meanness, friendly entreaty, gay hours never tempted him. Until thirty, he stood untouched, guarded by an iron resolution. Having gathered a few thousand, he was tempted to Boston for a wider trade. He went there—stayed six years; came home penniless and a drunkard, to lie in the very streets where his father and grandfather had lain before. He could stand up against every temptation, except Boston streets. There he lies dying, as his grandfather and father before him." Do you say that the people of these country towns have no interest in the streets of Boston? You tempt the virtue, melt the resolution and corrupt the morals of the Commonwealth, as far as your influence extends.

Look at the result of this choice of your Mayor by the grog-shops. My friend [Mr. HEALY] would have said, doubtless, if he had known I was going to speak upon this point, as he did intimate in the course of his argument, that the city had done all that it could to enforce that law. Have they? The Chief of Police replied to the question from the Massachusetts Temperance Society, "We have directions never to speak to a liquor seller, unless he be one who would not have received a license under the old license act." That is, the Commonwealth says there shall be no licensing; the city says, "We won't execute your statute, except against those to whom we should have refused a license." For five years—for five years—the Police confess that they have never executed the Maine Liquor Law, except in five instances; the other instances were under the nuisance act. Then it is sometimes said, "You can't convict, such is public opinion." The Mayor and Aldermen of the city undertook and succeeded in putting liquor dealers on every jury. The District Attorney and his Assistants confess, in these same answers, that the reason why they could not get convictions in the cases where they failed was not for want of evidence, but because liquor dealers were on the jury. Now, gentlemen, I hope we allowed their right to "hiss"—that the day had not come here, in Boston, when a man had not a "right to his opinion, and a right to express it." That day has got here, and will remain here, as long as Mayor Wightman holds his office. It has got here; it came on the first of January; and that is just the question for this Committee—whether the time has come when a man cannot have a right to express his opinion, and how long that time shall last. I allow, gentlemen, all the limits to free speech—all the limits that any honorable man, thoughtful man, sane man, can claim—no doubt of them; but the question is, what tribunal is to decide the limits. We say it is the judges; we say it is a jury of twelve men. Four hundred years of English history have put a jury of twelve men between me and my right and the Government. This Mayor juggles them out of the way. You send the liquor dealer to the House of Correction; we send him to the jury box. You say a man shall not be licensed; we say he shall. Help yourselves! What is the result? The Police and benevolent societies of the city say that there are 43,000 persons arrested and relieved from want in the city, in a year. Of these, the Police and benevolent societies say 30,000 come to want and to crime by intemperance. Strike off five thousand for exaggeration—call it 25,000. How many scholars are there in your school in this city? Twenty-five thousand. The Mayor and Aldermen, to whom you choose to give the Police, take, with one hand, \$250,000 of your money and mine to educate 25,000 children, and with the other they tear out a statute from the statute-book in order to ruin 25,000 adults. The inefficiency of the Mayor and Aldermen makes it exactly the same as if the cost of our school system were thrown into the dock over the end of Long Wharf. We know just as well what educated drunkards as what educates a school-boy. The Parker House, the Tremont House, the Revere House, and the Howard Saloon educate intemperance exactly as the Latin school educates youth. One educated for heaven, the other for hell; and the City Government says it shall be so.

The Police, we are told, are instructed not to arrest a liquor seller, unless he be one that would not have been licensed. What is the effect of that, gentlemen? The effect is this: The Constitution says that "justice shall be administered by persons independent, free and impartial as the lot of humanity admits." That is the Judiciary—that is one end of the law. What is the other? The Police force. We have a right to claim that it also shall be under the direction of persons as impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit—otherwise, good laws are vain.

If you will say to an offender against any criminal law, "We will undertake that you shall never be brought to the notice of the courts," it is exactly as good as if you gave him a judge of his own selection. Your Police strains out the large sinners, and let only nuisances pass through. That is the only class that ever reaches the courts.

Now, gentlemen, I am perfectly serious on this ground. I know the value of the common schools of Massachusetts. It makes my house worth a thousand dollars more to day; it makes my right of free speech doubly valuable; it makes my life safer; it makes it happier and more honorable to live in this Commonwealth. That is the value of the common school system, which at great expense educates the children of the State. On the other side stands your system of endeavoring to break up the intemperance of the city. I do not say that the Mayor or the Aldermen could prevent it all. I know the difficulties to which my friend [Mr. HEALY] has alluded. I only ask of any man an honest effort; I only ask for evidence that the first step is taken in that direction—that there is a willingness, a disposition to do it. A great deal could be prevented. Mr. Chairman, the mob that broke up that Tremont Temple meeting reeled into it from the gorgeous grog-shops that surround the Temple. Where do they get their respectability? They got it from the fact that your Governors, your Judges, your Senators, your law-makers meet week after week, and month after month, in these very places, to violate the law which they have placed upon the statute-book. No wonder they are ashamed to execute the laws which they break before the very sun and noon-day of Massachusetts.

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That being the state of facts, what interest has the Commonwealth in it? I will tell you what interest it has. The valuation of the city, as my friend [Mr. HEALY] observed, is one-third the property of the State. Of course, that is not all owned by the men who sit near me, knows this whole ground infinitely better than I do. I hope the Committee will enjoy the benefit of the statement of his experience and argument on that branch—one as important, in every point of view, as free speech itself. No man can do it more justice.

We come now, gentlemen, to the other branch of the question, and that is, Free Speech. We all know what the value of free speech is. I shall not, certainly, waste your time by endeavoring to describe it. Think it not presumptuous in us to put ourselves forward as champions of such an undoubted right, or strange that its defense should fall into our hands. Macaulay says, "Even in England, where the multitude have long been better informed than in any other part of Europe, the rights of the many have generally been asserted against themselves by the patriotism of the few." But let me, at least, remind you, that "the noblest human work—nobler, even than literature and science—is broad, civil liberty, well secured and wisely handled"; that "liberty is where, though the majority rule, the minority are protected against both the masses and the government"; that no people are really free who have not learned to bear with each other; that toleration is the test of faith—since that man does not really believe his own opinions who dares not listen to his opponent. Your Federal Constitution was not willing to leave free speech to the general provision that Congress should have no power not specially given, and omitting the right to control it from its list of powers, but by special amendment secured free speech from the touch of Government. Such is the right whose protection we claim.

My friend who sits at my left [Mr. HEALY] says that a great deal of argument and declamation may be expended upon the subject of free speech, but that there are certain limits to free speech. Nobody denies it. "A man has no legal right to blaspheme," he says. Granted. "A man has no legal right to slander his neighbor." Grant that. "A man has no legal right, in any sense, to insult his neighbor." Grant that, also. The question does not lie there; it is the kernel of the whole discussion between us. My friend, the City Attorney, said also, that Col. Sargent, in that very honorable interview—honorble to him—which he had with the Mayor, undertook to show what other people should think and ought not to think. Col. Sargent has that right; I do not deny it to him. I have a right to my own opinion as to what Col. Sargent ought to think and ought not to think. The Mayor has a perfect right to decide for himself what I ought to think and ought not to think—no doubt of that. The question lies a step beyond that. My friend, the City Attorney, says I have no right to blaspheme; and he went on to add, if I do, I can be indicted. Ah! that is just it; I want to be indicted, but I don't want to be judged and crushed by a Mayor. I claim to see the face of a judge; I want to know the law which I have violated. That was the difference between Col. Sargent and the Mayor in that interview which they had. Col. Sargent thought that certain persons ought not to think as they were thinking. Very well. What did he propose to do? Nothing. He proposed to leave them to think. The Mayor proposed to go and shut up their hall, and let them be mobbed, and help mob them. My friend [Mr. HEALY] said, in criticising the meeting at the Music Hall, in which I spoke, and was hissed, that he hoped we allowed their right to "hiss"—that the day had not come here, in Boston, when a man had not a "right to his opinion, and a right to express it." That day has got here, and will remain here, as long as Mayor Wightman holds his office. It has got here; it came on the first of January; and that is just the question for this Committee—whether the time has

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We publish, on our last page, the reply of Rev. Mr. Haven, in answer to some strictures we made upon a former communication received from him. In this he intimates his purpose to retire from the discussion—a course we have no desire to prolong—but in doing so, he certainly fails to sustain any one of the grave accusations he so recklessly brought against us in special, and the Abolitionists in general, in his Thanksgiving Sermon. Among them was this: that, led by our love of free speech, we had “permitted” some of our “leading associates” to burden the Anti-Slavery cause “with gross infidelities and social absurdities.” In vain have I challenged him to substantiate it, or any other of his charges, by producing a particle of evidence. He has found it easier to reiterate them, leaving them wholly unsupported at the first. We are sorry to see, in this time, what appears to be a disingenuous state of mind—not to say, a disposition to pervert the truth, particularly with reference to the real position of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to the enslaving of men, women and children at the South.

Once more we quote his original impeachment of our religious character:

“Would that, in his sphere of effort, and he had measure of his large abilities and influence, he had kept his liberty from becoming licentious. Would that, like Wilberforce, had kept his heart, soul, and body, with prayer and piety through the whole of this great war!”

That word “licentiousness” is a very serious allegation. It is, of course, the quality of being licentious. Worcester defines that to be—“Using license, is a bad sense; unrestrained by law or morality; disorder; lax; loose; vague; unconfined.” Mr. Haven evidently uses it “in a bad sense, with a dissolve meaning.” We have asked him to show wherein we have failed to advocate a faithful adherence to principle, and an uncompromising regard for the laws and commands of God; when or where we have played fast-and-loose with the claims of humanity, or the demands of justice; or when we have been beguiled from the path of duty, or allowed others to stray therefrom, on the ground of expediency or worldly policy. His only reply is, that all this is “not necessarily the case or the effect of prayer and piety.” But what is it? How else is it to be accounted for, using language honestly? How is it compatible with “licentiousness,” and in what is it to be “licentious”? It has not even given the true test of character?—By their pietie ye shall know them: do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? It is just here that the spirit of the living God is at work? How dare you say that we have a revival of the religion of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer? Let me tell you, though it may be a genuine revival of religion going on, mark you—“a revival that hates the wrong, defends the right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you got it? If so, then there is a tremendous strife going on in the land with ‘principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.’ The world is in a state of ‘principalities, and powers, in fierce conflict, and a God-ordained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake.’ But does any body tremble? No! Is Satan世上? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and shires over it. The American Anti-Slavery Society has an official organ,—to wit, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; and that paper scrupulously adheres to its one object, excluding from its columns the discussion of those subjects which are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the *Liberator*. That paper, therefore, cannot justly be charged with ‘being its own worst enemy.’” Its commanding ability is equally noted by its single-eyed, unfaltering devotion to the cause of the oppressed. Yet the Standard has a more limited circulation than the *Liberator*—thus demonstrating the hollowness of the pretence, that if the *Liberator* had not gone into “extraneous” matters, but had adhered solely to the anti-slavery cause, then “gladly would the ministry of every name, whether evangelical or liberal,” have rallied to its support. Why, then, don’t they take the *Anti-Slavery Standard*?

We must examine what Mr. Haven so deceptively says about the position of the M. E. Church in our next.

brought back the memory of thirty years ago: I felt about “as good as new” in the struggle. Seriously, we do need a genuine revival of religion in our land—would to God we might have it! “The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint; the lungs of the people are sick, and purifying sores.” Our hands are full of blood, and we cannot deny it. We need a genuine revival of religion—a religion which is pure and spotless, which has no injustice in it, which has no lash to apply to the naked bodies of defenceless women, which does not steal children, which does not traffic in human flesh, which goes for immediate and uncompromising abolition of all that kind; and God forbid that I should say anything which would tend to prevent a revival of such a religion as this! But we have a right, in regard to the revival now going on in our land, to inquire what is the tendency thereof. Does it favor the cause of impartial freedom, or make against it?

Mr. Haven—clergyman-like—complacently assumes that his views of the Bible and of the Sabbath are infallibly correct. We think they are erroneous, and find no warrant either in the Bible or in reason. Who shall attempt to play the part of Sir Oracle? Is there not room here for an honest and conscientious difference of opinion?

Mr. Haven asks—“If it be said, the *Liberator* is not exclusively an anti-slavery journal, I ask, what else was it started for? What else does its title mean?”

Is not that chosen work great enough? We answer—we never meant the *Liberator* to be an exclusively anti-slavery journal; and therefore we would never allow it to be the organ of any Society.

It is a wide-spread epidemic, everywhere exhibiting the same characteristics and results. It prevails at the North, and also at the South. There is the same general confession of sin, which means less, though the profession of repentance, which means less, though the same change of spirit or purpose toward the millions in bondage, on the part of those who claim to have been turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the living God.

Let us argue the matter a little. I suppose we shall not dispute about the cause of the nation, nor the cause of the slaves. Certainly, the American Church, which holds in bondage through its members, seven hundred thousand slaves, is tolerably corrupt! There must be a good deal of blood upon the garments of such a Church! There is, moreover, no end to political corruption and demagoguery in the land. If the Prince of Darkness has ever held court in any city or town where he has been at the present time in America, New York is a genuine revival of religion going on, mark you—a revival that hates the wrong, defends the right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you got it? If so, then there is a tremendous strife going on in the land with ‘principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.’ The world is in a state of ‘principalities, and powers, in fierce conflict, and a God-ordained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake.’ But does any body tremble? No! Is Satan世上? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and shires over it. The American Anti-Slavery Society has an official organ,—to wit, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; and that paper scrupulously adheres to its one object, excluding from its columns the discussion of those subjects which are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the *Liberator*. That paper, therefore, cannot justly be charged with ‘being its own worst enemy.’” Its commanding ability is equally noted by its single-eyed, unfaltering devotion to the cause of the oppressed. Yet the Standard has a more limited circulation than the *Liberator*—thus demonstrating the hollowness of the pretence, that if the *Liberator* had not gone into “extraneous” matters, but had adhered solely to the anti-slavery cause, then “gladly would the ministry of every name, whether evangelical or liberal,” have rallied to its support. Why, then, don’t they take the *Anti-Slavery Standard*?

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SPIRITUALISM—REPUBLICANISM.

ALBANY, (N. Y.) March 27, 1861.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON.—It gave me great pain to

see the *Herald of Progress* in your “Refuge of Oppression.”

My strong friendship for its editor, and that we are

in a position to do so, makes me anxious to speak

of the *Herald* in this article.

It is to the *Herald* of last week another

from the same pen and kindred in spirit and purpose,

if not in violence and falsehood of expression.

My experience is just this, on the subject of Spiritualism, and that type of Progress which the *Herald* represents:—While there are some, but not very many, Spiritualists who understand and nobly serve the cause of Freedom and Humanity, the greater part are just the same obstacle and dead weight to the advance of that cause, which we find among the most bitter and bigoted sects of parties in the land.

I judge the present revival, and determine its true character, by a simple test. I make an effort, and my exercise, to list ciphers from papers from every part of the land. These I examine with watchful and constant solicitude, from day to day. My finger is continually upon the pulse of the nation. I know, if any man can know, what is the heart of the American people, because the press is the general exponent of their real feelings and sentiments; and therefore I shall be bold to say, that what is the lesson it teaches. Everywhere revealing to me the fact, as it does, that the present revival is viewed with complacency and approbation by the most pro-slavery divines, by unprincipled political demagogues, by the satanic journals by all who are hostile or indifferent to the cause of freedom, and to the cause of humanity, crushed down to chafetism and brutality, which leaves any man in bondage is equally deserving of execration. (Applause.)

Now, when all is calm and peaceful, in the midst of abounding corruption, how dare you say that the spirit of the living God is at work?

How dare you say that we have a revival of the religion of Christ, the Redeemer? Let me tell you, though it may be a genuine revival of religion going on, mark you—“a revival that hates the wrong, defends the right, loves man, abhors tyranny. Have you got it? If so, then there is a tremendous strife going on in the land with ‘principalities, and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places.’ The world is in a state of ‘principalities, and powers, in fierce conflict, and a God-ordained Church and State are shaken to their foundations, as by a mighty earthquake.’ But does any body tremble? No! Is Satan世上? Never more easy! Is corruption terrified? Why, it goes soundly to sleep, and shires over it. The American Anti-Slavery Society has an official organ,—to wit, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; and that paper scrupulously adheres to its one object, excluding from its columns the discussion of those subjects which are so distasteful to Mr. Haven in the *Liberator*. That paper, therefore, cannot justly be charged with ‘being its own worst enemy.’” Its commanding ability is equally noted by its single-eyed, unfaltering devotion to the cause of the oppressed. Yet the Standard has a more limited circulation than the *Liberator*—thus demonstrating the hollowness of the pretence, that if the *Liberator* had not gone into “extraneous” matters, but had adhered solely to the anti-slavery cause, then “gladly would the ministry of every name, whether evangelical or liberal,” have rallied to its support. Why, then, don’t they take the *Anti-Slavery Standard*?

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Now, when you prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is *secret*; and thy Father, which *secret*, shall reward thee openly”—and if his example in this particular deserves to be imitated—how does our accuser feel justified in making proclamation from his pulpit, that we are alike prayerless and irreligious? He assumes, it is true, a great deal as to his own piety—more than would seem compatible with true humility; but does he also claim for himself the attribute of *unction*?

Mr. Wilberforce, in spite of his “prayer and piety,” stood uniformly in Parliament, we believe, on all matters aside from the slaves question, with the high-toned party. Toryism we detect and oppose as anti-Christian. What does Mr. Haven think of it? Wilberforce sustained the unshaken union of Church and State. Such a union we denounce as at war with the principles of Christianity. What does Mr. Haven think of them? Wilberforce upheld the vast naval and military system of England. We believe that such a system is opposed to all the teachings of Jesus, and belongs to the kingdom of darkness; and that war, is the temporary rule of all the commands of the *Decalogue*. What does Mr. Haven think of it? We do not make this reference to Wilberforce inadvertently, but simply to show how easy it is for our clerical acolytes to strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

Mr. Haven undertakes to make Theodore Parker a witness against the “piety” of the “leading Reformed,” and artfully applies the language used by him, specifically to us and to our associates? What authority has he for doing this? The charge is too important to be met, and therefore neither permits nor requires a distinct refutation. How Mr. Parker’s testimony, in a matter respecting genuine piety, can be regarded as “of the highest value” by Mr. Haven, is somewhat singular, seeing that he has accused Mr. P. of having “denounced, with the most unsparing invective, the revival of religion,” but the most unsparing invective, the revival of God’s work, and declared the operations of the Holy Spirit to be but the cunning devices of the ministers of Jesus Christ”—Mr. H. concluding his diatribe by saying, “No equal torrent of blasphemous infidelity poured forth from the eruptive crater of Voltaire and Paine.” But Mr. Haven has an object to gratify, and that is to disparage and render odious us and our “leading associates.” It shows how deep is his interest in the success of the Anti-Slavery cause!

Does Mr. Haven doubt that Mr. Parker was perfectly sincere in expressing his belief as to the spurious nature of the revival that swept over the country three years ago, exceptual cases to the contrary? Will he sustain our sincerity in expressing a similar belief? If not, what does it prove? Certainly, not an infallible state of mind, but, at the worst, only a misapprehension as to the real character of the revival; for, as far as the editors of the *Herald* and we did, ought we not to have a faithful testimony against it, for true religion’s sake?

How we regarded and what we said of the revival, at the time, may be seen by the following extract from a speech made by us at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at New York, in May, 1858. If there be any “infidelity,” or “impurity,” or “blasphemy” in it, we should like to have it pointed out.

“A word in regard to the so-called revival of religion, now going on in the land. One of the resolutions

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Poetry.

For the Liberator.

TO MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.

A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE.

True and earnest-hearted sister, a debt we owe to thee,
For thy words so fitly spoken, uttered calmly, bravely,
free;
For thy courage—faltering never—for thy hopeful, trust-
ing faith,
That the Right at last shall triumph, even as our Father
saith.

We feel our souls grow stronger as we hear thee nobly
pled
For the outcast suffering bondmen in their hour of sorest
need;
And while earnest, tearful pity thou dost waken in the
heart,
Still thy words arouse to action, bidding us to do our part,
For in the conflict waging, ere our country makes her
choice,
There is need of woman's labor, there is need of woman's
voice;
And while Manhood, silent, cowering, withers 'neath
Concession's blight,
She, by Compromise unfettered, fearless should defend the
Right.

She should say unto her brothers—Ye may bring to
Southern power—
Be the dupe and tools of party—yield e'en Honor's price-
less dower;
And to save this blood-stained Union, make anew a true
with sin,
Smothering even the voice of conscience, as it speaks the
soul within:

And again on Mammon's altar lay the bound and trem-
bling slave,
While his outstretched hands imploring, vainly call on you
to save:
Ye may give to human bloodhounds hunting-ground on
Concord plains,
And upon the grave of Warren bind anew the victim's
chains!

But we will not aid you onward thus Humanity to wrong,
And, to crush the hapless victim, make th' oppressor's
power more strong;

Will plead alone for Justice, guided, only by Truth's
light,
While our rallying-ey is ever, "God defend and speed
the Right!"

Sister, many a true heart's blessing follows thee along thy
way,
Knowing thou wilt never falter, or thy holy trust betray;
And when, thy mission ended, angel-spirits call thee home,
How this blessed thought will cheer thee, "I my Father's
work have done!"

Barre, March, 1861.

CAROLINE.

For the Liberator.

THOUGHTS,

SUGGESTED BY THE SACRIFICE OF JOHN BROWN.

"T is done, the savage deed is done;
Oh, base Virgin! shame to thee!
Shame to thy foolish, braggart son!
Shame to thy bouth chivalry!"

The brave old man whose daring hands
Were raised to set the bondman free,
To break Oppression's galling bands,
And strike a blow for liberty!—

A victim to Virginia's fear,
In Freedom's cause the hero dies!
A glory circles round his bier,
While in the dust thine honor lies.

They shouldst have claimed him for thine own,
With Patrick Henry's wreathed his name;
It had a halo round thee thrown,
Rekindling Freedom's star-flame.

Fen had his weapon failed to spare,
T was base the brave old man to slay,
The man who laid your folly bare,
And showed you where your weakness lay.

By cruel wrongs to frenzy driven,
John Brown, the fearless, good and brave,
Believed himself the elect of Heaven
To break the yoke, and free the slave.

Go, now, of gallant Henry boast;
Brown was his brother—Freedom's child;
Undaunted, each deft a host,
And both by cowards were reviled.

Successful, one is known to fame,
A patriot—one a rebel dies;
Alike their object—cause the same—
Their struggle for an equal prize.

Henry, for self and country's weal,
Resolved on "Liberty or Death";
Brown, with a high and holy zeal,
For the poor slave resigned his breath.

Dishonored droop, Virginia's star,
Her "scutcheon bears the murderer's seal;
On Freedom's breast she leaves a scar,
That time can never, never heal.

F. M. ADLINGTON, Weymouth.

For the Liberator.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY!

Wanted to find, a man who prays,
Who ever means just what he says;
Who, when "Our Father" he repeats,
In every man a brother greets;

And, when he prays, " Thy kingdom come,
Upon the earth Thy will be done
As 'tis in heaven"—whose life shall be
With such a prayer in harmony;

Who, when he prays, " My sins forgive
As I do those 'gainst me who strive,"
Breathes not e'en our revengeful breath,
Nor chokes the erring one to death;

Who, when he prays, " Lord, never lead
Where I in pain of sin shall tread,"
A brother's voice will 'ne'er despise,
When he of danger would apprise.

Wanted to see, in days like these,
A man who seeks not men to please;
Wanted, O God! The Church to see,
A light to guide mankind to Thee.

Wanted to see, a man who dares
To live and keep with his prayers;
Fears not to say his soul's his own,
Nor trembles when the wicked frown.

One such, sustained by heavenly grace,
A thousand of his foes shall chase;
Twice such, ten thousand put to flight,
Because well armored for the fight.

Men thus equipped, with Faith's strong shield,
Shall make their stoutest foes to yield;
And Error's night shall pass away,
Because they act as well as pray.

The God shall sit upon his throne
On earth; by man his will be done;
The triumph of the wicked cease,
And all mankind shall live in peace.

Boston, March 19, 1861.

JUSTITIA.

THE TRULY JUST MAN.

All are not just because they do no wrong;
But he who will not wrong me when he may,
He is the truly just. I praise not these;
Who, in their petty dealing, pilfer not;

But him whose conscience spurns a secret fraud,
When he might plunder and defraud.

His be the praise, who, looking down with scorn
On the false judgment of the partial herd,
Consults his own clear heart, and boldly dares
To be, not to be thought, an honest man.

—Selected.

The Liberator.

THE MARTYR CRISPUS ATTACKS.

The ninety-first anniversary of the martyrdom of CRISPUS ATTACKS (March 6th, 1770) was commemorated at the Twelfth Baptist Church in Boston, on Monday evening, 11th inst. (unavoidably postponed from the 6th.)

WILLIAM C. NELL, on rising to announce the exercises, remarked, in substance, that the programme for the evening was a wide departure from the elaborate and novel presentation, for many months contemplated, but which, by force of circumstances, he had this year been compelled to forego. The occasion was one which should always commend itself to the patriots and philanthropists of America, and in a signal manner to those whose complexions and condition allied them to him whose name and fame they had assembled that evening to honor. And especially at this hour in our country's history, when the all-absorbing question was, "What shall be done with the colored man?" there is a significance in pointing to what the colored man has done in the nation's trials, hours, eminently entitling him and his posterity to an equality of rights.

The page of impartial history will yet be illuminated with his deeds of patriotism and valor, commencing with Crispus Attacks in State street, March 6th, 1770, whose example of gallant leadership and martyrdom in the cause of impartial liberty has been emulated by other colored Americans, in every battle and though, shameful to relate, there is still to be found, here and there, an unscrupulous press to dis-
parage and ignore the claims we truthfully and proudly associate with "the Man and the Hour," yet the satisfaction is ours to acknowledge that, by Hon. H. Wilson, in his recent speech in the Senate of the United States, and also by several members of the Massachusetts Legislature, justice has been duly awarded, which we trust will, ere long, so enlighten public sentiment that, despite the influences contributing to disfranchise and alienate us, the patriotic deeds of our fathers shall be gratefully remembered, and our own rights respected.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nell's remarks, there followed appropriate Classical Readings and Declamations, including extracts from the recent speeches of Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. Henry Wilson, in the United States Senate, against the Crittenden Compromise, and in vindication of Colored American citizenship.

Also a debate, in which the volunteer aid of

members of the "Union Progressive Association" was a prominent feature. These exercises were interspersed with choice vocal and instrumental music by several ladies and gentlemen, whose efforts were highly appreciated by the audience.

The evening's entertainment was concluded by a social gathering in the Vestry, where refreshments had been provided by Mr. George T. Downing, which arrangement, to many, was a very agreeable item in this year's commemoration.

REPLY OF REV. GILBERT HAVEN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—I should have made an earlier defence of my letter against your editorial, had my health allowed me to prepare it. The subject may not yet be stale to all your readers, though my treatment of it will probably be deemed, by many of them, "flat and unprofitable." In seeking to shun a "painful and profitless" controversy with some of your leading associates, I hardly expected to plunge into one with you. I hope yet to avoid it. With as few words of defence as the subject will admit of, I shall close the controversy, so far as I am concerned. Our main points of difference are so vital, the chasm that separates us, as developed in this editorial, is so wide, that it will only be a waste of your columns to seek, through this medium, for a common ground wherein to build up a common faith. The lesser differences are all that will repay consideration.

You request the questions which you asked, in your first article, on the supposition that I impeached your faithfulness to your conscience, and say, "Now let the reader turn to the verbose rejoinder of Mr. Haven, and find, if he can, any attempt to give explicit answers to these questions—for we cannot." I cannot imagine how you could have read that letter without finding "explicit answers to these questions," repeated many times. My honest compliments, profuse almost to "vain repetitions," were based solely on your "faithful adherence to principle." Had they been omitted, or reduced within moderate dimensions, the verbosity of the "rejoinder" would have been materially lessened, and the letter been shorter than its reply.

These questions are asked as a defence against my letter that I do not resemble Wilberforce "in prayer and piety." Do they prove that lament groundless?

It is a bold and constant support of the claims of humanity or the demands of justice necessarily the cause or the effect of prayer and piety?

Cannot one be eminent in the former graces, and deficient in the latter? Religion should be, I acknowledge, the root and offspring of all philanthropy. That it is not, many examples painfully prove. I agree with Mr. Parker that they are not, though they ought to be, constantly and vitally united. In his "Letter," page 106, he thus speaks:—"I was not content with producing Morality alone—the normal action of the Conscience and the Will, the voluntary keeping of the Natural Law of Right. I saw the need also of Piety—religious feelings toward the Divine, that pure, internal love of God, which I think is not dependent on conscience." Again, in reference to the very class of which you are so eminent a representative, he thus speaks, page 112:—"I found this lack of the emotional part of religion affected many of the Reformers. The leading Reformers are men of large intellect, of profound morality, and living ears worthy of the best ages of humanity. But, as a general thing, it seemed to me they had not a proportionate development of the religious feelings, and so had neither the most powerful solace for their many griefs, nor the profoundest joy which is needful to hold them up amidst all they see and suffer from. They too commonly shared this sensational philosophy, [Unitarianism,] and broke with the Ecclesiastical Supernaturalism, which once helped its defects."

Though his substitute for the Divine Supernaturalism of the Church and the Bible could but poorly supply this need of the soul, his declaration that it exists in man, and that it was unsatisfied in the hearts of his closest, philanthropic friends, is of the highest value.

The union of Piety and Philanthropy was very marked in the public career of Wilberforce. Their disjunction has been hardly less marked in the public life of his American representative. It is complained that I did not keep silence on this deficiency in an anti-slavery discourse, and my lamentation over it is charged to my "cloth." I am glad that the guilt lies no deeper.

But, is such silence a duty? That discourse was a "sermon," based on the words of inspiration, preached in a Christian church, on the Christian Sabbath, by one who declares himself, in this very act, to be speaking, as he believes, as an ambassador of Jesus Christ. Was it out of place to refer to the public treatment of the Christian religion by eminent leaders of the reform it advocated, especially when that treatment was not one of silence, but of open hostility? The censure was confined to their public career, and was spoken with careful exception to any special activity of your own, and with respectful and tender regret at the course you had chosen to pursue.

But if it was so censurable to introduce into a sermon, a pulpit, and a Sabbath evening religious service, the slightest reflection on the public religious character of a great reformer, what must be said of the course of the Liberator and the American Anti-

THE LIB

ERATOR.

Slavery Society, for these many years? You say, "When, in noticing anything that may have fallen from his lip or pen, or from the lip or pen of any other person on the subject of slavery, have we gone out of our way to lament that he did not see eye to eye with us on other matters?" May I be allowed to ask, were those remarks, made in a review of Rev. Mr. White's sermon, concerning the Bible and the divine origin of the Christian ministry and the Christian Church, necessary to express your opinion as to his treatment of the question of slavery? A very few words sufficed for a full endorsement of his views on that subject. A half a column hardly sufficed to "lament" his heterodoxy on these "other matters" in which "he did not see eye to eye" with you.

Are the remarks on the Bible and "the great robbery" in this very editorial, essential to a defence of your anti-slavery, or even religious, consistency? Even if you are free from blame in this matter, is the Liberator free? Is the article which precedes my letter, opposing, with great harshness, the general opinion of Christians as to the right way of observing the Sabbath, essential to the prosperity of abolitionism? Is not this advertisement, which for nearly six months has met the eyes of your subscribers, entitled "Self-Contradictions of the Bible," and in which the Book is spoken of as "the so-called word of God," "travelling out of the record, and raising a false and impudent issue?" There is but one other paper in Boston that would publish that advertisement. That paper rejoices in the name of "infidel." I command it for its honesty.

What would be said if the Temperance Journal had thus mingled discussions on religious subjects with its reformary matters? Would the Christian friends of temperance have been condemned for withdrawing their support from the paper, and the Society that sustained it? I have an intimate acquaintance with several of the leading advocates of this reform, who differ from me, very materially, on questions of doctrine; yet I always receive them gladly into my pulpit, and join with them on the general platform, because we confine ourselves to the duty before us. Why is it not so with these advocates of the Anti-Slavery reform? Why is not the Liberator welcomed to every Christian anti-slavery family, and its contributors to every anti-slavery pulpit? Simply because they do not confine themselves to anti-slavery. There is no one whom I would so gladly invite to address my people as Mr. Garrison, were it not for his connection with this course of action. Did he now, as at the beginning of his career, apply the Word of God with great faithfulness and power to this iniquity, did he only refrain from contending that Word, and the doctrines it teaches, and the Church it establishes, would be more welcome to the slaves than to the master? Why is not the Liberator welcomed to every Christian anti-slavery family, and its contributors to every anti-slavery pulpit? Simply because they do not confine themselves to anti-slavery.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nell's remarks, there followed appropriate Classical Readings and Declamations, including extracts from the recent speeches of Hon. Charles Sumner and Hon. Henry Wilson, in the United States Senate, against the Crittenden Compromise, and in vindication of Colored American citizenship.

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The page of impartial history will yet be illuminated with his deeds of patriotism and valor, commencing with Crispus Attacks in State street, March 6th, 1770, whose example of gallant leadership and martyrdom in the cause of impartial liberty has been emulated by other colored Americans, in every battle and though, shameful to relate, there is still to be found, here and there, an unscrupulous press to dis-

parage and ignore the claims we truthfully and proudly associate with "the Man and the Hour," yet the satisfaction is ours to acknowledge that, by Hon. H. Wilson, in his recent speech in the Senate of the United States, and also by several members of the Massachusetts Legislature, justice has been duly awarded, which we trust will, ere long, so enlighten public sentiment that, despite the influences contributing to disfranchise and alienate us, the patriotic deeds of our fathers shall be gratefully remembered, and our own rights respected.

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